

- 609 Yawalapiti village in Brazil; but the very silence was expressive of the mutual sorrow at our parting. Landaeta loaded me and my baggage in a canoe and we drifted slowly away, leaving on the vast beach a few human beings alone in a strange world, but not lonesome, since they live with their gods.

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- 231 The Yauru practice no agriculture and keep no domestic animals except the dog, even though they inhabit country over which roam wild horses and cattle, and they come in contact with the "llaneros," who are typically pastoral. Therefore, their daily dinner is dependent upon, and determined by, indigenous environment and their own energy. The quality and abundance of their food supply depends upon seasonal variations of climate. A period of drought or a too prolonged period of rain may cause famine. They would be allowed a degree of freedom from the daily task of acquiring dinner were they able to store any food for future use. The tropics, however, offer special difficulties to this which are not present in more temperate climates. Their knowledge of what is edible in various localities, where to find it, how to gather it, and how to keep it and what is available at different times of the year are all factors important to the satisfaction of their most fundamental need. Technical knowledge in the making of tools and methods of hunting and fishing are also important.

- 262 As if not satisfied by the degree of their dependency on it, and on their technical knowledge, primitives often self-impose other limitations. There may be an abundance of a particular animal which could be hunted easily or a particular plant which could be gathered in quantity, yet the primitives very often raise barriers against such practices. The fact that they have religious and perhaps magical reasons for such attitudes explains but does not change the situation. Thus, for instance, among them deer may be plentiful in a region, the people may be starving, and yet no deer is killed and eaten.^{*}

- 177 Limitations such as these are not entirely imposed by nature and by the culture of the people; often, the proximity and the attitude of other groups of mankind play their part. A weak tribe will be restricted in its lands over which it may wander, hunt, and claim ownership, and very often may be reduced to seeking a less desirable environment where food is even scarcer. Or a new people may seize its lands and they will be prohibited even from hunting on these lands. Or there may be an influx of peoples who will live partially on the hunt also, though their main source of food may be agricultural.

^{*} The peoples of the Kuluene river, Matto Grosso, Brazil, will not hunt nor eat deer.

area is only such in reference to the presence of a given technology. The presence of such a technology is not guaranteed in any particular culture by any historical, evolutionary, geographical, or ecological necessity. Its presence may entail a particular historical explanation or a general evolutionary one. In any case, its absence entails the absence of the use of certain resources whose presence we can observe only in retrospect.

Other resource areas besides those utilized because of the presence of horticulture among the Yaruro become available by their possession of hunting, gathering, and fishing technologies, as well as recently acquired animal husbandry in the form of pig-herding. Hunter animals include deer, armadillo, capybara, paca, peccary (?), iguana, and a number of birds (see Table II, p. 4). These are variously distributed spatially according to the specific ecological niches for which they are adapted. Thus deer are apparently usually found dispersed in the somewhat damper, low-lying savannas where grass is greener and water more available away from the scene of human activity. Armadillo are found distributed throughout the savanna. Other species, however, such as the capybara, live near the edge of permanent waters, mainly the rivers. Alligators also live only in the rivers. The faunal carrying capacity of the savannas appears to be quite low in the Cinaruco llanos since foraging foods for larger game animals are sparse. It is important to note that not only is the overall carrying capacity governed by the minimum average food supply of the savannas in the florally more restricted dry season,¹ but the distribution of animals varies considerably from the wet to the dry season. In the latter, animals tend to cluster nearer the rivers or the widely dispersed water holes. Consequently, the locus of hunting must also shift seasonally (see Maps).² Savanna hunting techniques are necessarily different from those used in procuring food in the rivers, whether hunting alligators or capybara, or, of course, fishing. There is some seasonal variation in the locus of fishing, too, although this is much less marked on the Cinaruco than on the freely-flooding streams of the flatter, more north-easterly savannas of the Apure llanos. In the rainy season, fish move up the larger streams into somewhat shallower waters where more plant and insect food is available to them. However, they are apparently unable to move up smaller streams which often have rapids-like stretches interrupting their course. Thus fishing in the rainy seasons is directed towards the larger creeks and away from the smaller creeks and the river itself, where the water has become too deep for successful fishing since the fish are scarcer and more difficult to see in the deep, swift currents of winter. In respect to animal husbandry, recently introduced pigs are pastured anywhere in the savannas but preferably next to the village or quite a distance from it, in either case far from the nearest gardens (Sp. *conuco*, Y. *tadé*), an effort which is rarely successful since the pigs, in their wisdom, are among the main predators on the garden crops. Gathering may be carried out in the dry or the wet savanna depending upon the plant food to be gathered, or it may be carried out near the creeks especially for the fruit of the moriche palm. The rivers do not appear to be used in gathering.

¹ [See pp. 35-37, category 116 -- Analyst]

² [See pp. 40-41, category 102 -- Analyst]

³ [for footnote, see p. 42, category 116 -- Analyst]

2: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1961

SSI9 Yaruro SSI9

Yaruro	Spanish	English	Location and Techniques	Season of Prod.				Division of Labor				Q
				S d-m	F a	W m-a	S a-a	Prod. M	Food F	Prep. M		
ma'hikai	noto ??	?	savanna, digging stick	yes				yes				1
ka'ta	changuanillo savanero	?	as above	yes-yes				yes-yes				27
pa'ta	barbaco	?	monte, digging stick	yes-yes				yes-yes				3
gwe'pe (= gwepe'ke)	chigo	? (seed)	near monte, big trees, ground			yes-yes		yes-yes				2
ge' (= ke)	chigo	? (seed)	?, ? (as above?)									?
ANIMAL HUSBANDRY:												
o'bweia	marrano	pigs	savannas, herding (introd.)	yes-yes	yes-yes	yes-yes	yes-yes	yes-yes	/	yes-yes	yes-yes	3
uka'taro	gallina	chickens	dunes near houses (?)	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	/			1
ANIMALS HUNTED:												
(so) hu'ngu'ri (a'ni)	oso hormiguero	giant ant eater?	savanna, bow and arrow	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes				?
hu'ri	baba	alligator	rivers, heavy barbed arrow	yes-yes	yes-yes		yes	yes-yes				?
mbwa	venado	deer	savannas, lance arrow, gun	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes-yes				?
ci'do	chigüire	cahybars	monte, river, " ", fish arrow	yes-yes	yes	yes	yes	yes				?
apu'ra	conejo	rabbit	savanna, fish arrow	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes				?
puri	lape	paca	caño, monte, traps, all arrows	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes				?
ya'tutu'mi	iguana	water lizard	rivers, montes, fish arrow	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes				?
ge'ru	cachicomo	armadillo	savannas, traps, sticks, hand	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes				?
'ipurime'na	manto	?	savannas, traps, arrows	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes				?

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222 the moriche palm (*Mauritia flexuosa*); several seeds, notably chiga (= chigo?; — *Campsiandra comosa*); calabashes (*Crescentia Cujete*), and bees' wax and honey. Non of the items gathered are large in size or difficult of access except the bees' wax, one or two of the fruits, and calabashes which grow on higher trees, or may be very far. Gathered foods may be picked up by hand or with the aid of a digging stick or machete, and may be brought back in the harvesting baskets. Other items [412] which may be gathered include the raw materials for baskets and mat-making or [415] for food-processing tools such as the tipiti, pots, or mortars and pestles. These 824 items include the fronds of the moriche palm, used for making cord, baskets, tipiti, mats, and sacks; in some villages, clay for pots; reeds for arrows, wood for [285] house beams, mortars and pestles, bows, and for cooking utensils. Wood, palm [323] fronds, and many other items are gathered with the help of the all-purpose machete.

231 Pig herding is unsystematically done. The pigs, a recent acquisition, spend most of their time at will in the foraging grounds. The significant herding activity occurs only at times when one or another of the groups of pigs breaks into the gardens, an almost daily occurrence. They are then driven to the foraging grounds again, or if late in the day, into a close till morning when they are either driven forth again or allowed to scavenge in the village. There are several herds of pigs of sizes varying from perhaps a maximum of 20 including piglets to the more usual six or eight animals. The only tools used in pig care include a slaughtering [412] stick with which the pig is clubbed to death and knives to cut up the meat. The [262] close is built of logs cut with a machete and carried in by one or two men. Pig meat, though eaten with regularity, is definitely a secondary element of diet.

411 Hunting is done almost exclusively with the bow and arrow. There are several types of arrows. One for fish has a metal point approximately 4 inches long with a side hook about five inches from the tip, where the tip is set into the shaft. This may also be used for smaller animals. One for birds has a blunt wooden head, and does not appear to be used very often. A third type is used for larger animals such as deer and capybara. It has a blade about 6 inches long shaped like a laurel leaf and, at present, made of steel. At the base of the blade, a small cross-piece is affixed in order to prevent the precious blade from piercing so deeply into the animal that, if it escapes, it would carry the arrow away with it. The fourth type of arrow is used for turtles, tortoises, and alligators or other animals which submerge. The head is short and strong with a sharp recurved hook. The entire metal head is attached to a cord, and this in turn is attached to the arrow shaft, from which the head is detachable. On detaching, the shaft floats and the game can be followed in its underwater course. The bow is generally about 6 feet long or a little more. It is made rather crudely of the wood of the macanilla palm (*Bactris Gaspiens*). Some animals, especially land tortoises and armadillos, may be caught by hand. Alligators may also be hunted with exceedingly heavy steel hooks and a strong line. In hunting, no traps, nets, surrounds, or drives are used. [136] [324]

226 Fishing is done chiefly with bows and arrows, though an arrow may sometimes be used as a spear, repeatedly jabbed into grassy waters near the river banks. Fishing may also be done with hooks and lines of different sizes. Bait is also used. A man may fish from a platform built by lashing logs horizontally to two trees

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make it usable. The need to eat makes woman's work more or less continuous, while the nature of production does not make man's work continuous. As long as there is food in the village, the man may rest, help his wife, or engage in non-food production such as canoe-making, as he chooses.

Objects used by men are men's property and are inherited by the men; objects used by women are women's property and are inherited in the women's line. Immovable property such as gardens and houses are said to be inherited by the decedent's children of both sexes. Male animals, such as boars and dogs, are owned by men, the females by women. Thus the division of property is as sharp as the division of labor, a fact reflected throughout the ideology.

No two producers produce the same quantity or inventory of goods, especially as each has great freedom to concentrate in the productive activities he prefers to the exclusion of others. Yet each producer contributes to household and community in what is felt to be equivalent value since most foods are considered good and of equal worth. Each household producing unit distributes supplies of raw or cooked foods to other households along the lines of coresidence and kinship. In this way, all villagers, as consumers, receive the same total amount of food and no one goes without. Thus all persons and households in the community are equivalent as producers, distributors, and consumers. All are tied together in a loosely formalized network of coordinate reciprocal exchanges and obligations in which scales of value are not necessary, since each person contributes approximately equally of all values. In this situation, accumulation of wealth by individuals is out of the question and management of production or of wealth distribution is unnecessary. Consequently, there are no economic status differentiations and no effective leadership among the Yaruro.

Similarly, no purely social differentiations based on status ranking occur in Yaruro society, except by casual deference to those of age and experience like shamans and village spokesmen, called 'capitans'. The status of women is coordinate with that of men. The complementary and coordinate units, a man and a woman, combine into a series of coordinate but semi-autonomous units, the households. A group of these constitute the Yaruro social unit, the neither endogamous nor exogamous (Murdock's "agamous") village. All these units are tied together by links of bilaterally traced kinship, with coordinate relations on both sides, the ultimate tie being the reciprocal marriage of cross-cousins. Marriage is ideally matrilocal, and occurs most frequently within the village. As a consequence, the most immediate kinship ties in the village are matrilineal, whereas kinship among the men is more diffuse. The villages themselves are tied together by kinship ties, real or imputed, as well as by marriage and visiting, but by no other ties of an all-tribal nature. People who are known to any particular village — to 'us' — are considered part of our village's family, since their kinship ties to our members can be discovered or invented freely. Persons recognized as being of our linguistic and cultural stock will be included under the general term *pumé*, but may not be considered 'of our family' unless the kinship ties are recognized. Thus there is a Yaruro people, but no Yaruro tribal unit. Even the persons included in 'our family' do not constitute a unit, since there are no cross village unifying institutions other than real or imputed bilateral kinship ties. Even these vary from

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